

THE CHRONICLE

D. F. WRIGHT, M. D., Editor.

CLARKSVILLE, FEB. 23, 1878.

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IS TENNESSEE A PAUPER AND A BANKRUPT?

It will be seen from an article on our first page that Mr. Colyar, of Davidson county, answers this question in the affirmative, and that a portion of the press of Tennessee, taking the statements of his speech in the State Legislature for established facts, endorse the statement. The position maintained is that Tennessee not only cannot pay their debts, but cannot live upon their income. If it were true, this would be a patriotic assertion to make, but happily it is not true, and what is better, it is not believed, for hundreds of stalwart, industrious immigrants are every day showing their disbelief of it by investing their capital and their labor in the good old State and making it their home, which they would never do if they believed it to be the rotten, poverty-stricken concern which Mr. Colyar and his endorsers would make it out. It is not, therefore, because we fear that these misrepresentations will be believed to the prejudice of the citizens of the State that we undertake to refute them now; it is to show the disingenuousness of continuing to promulgate these statements when they have already been answered and disproved by the plainest statement of facts.

We have before us the speech made by the Hon. Jno. R. Goodpasture, which was made in the Tennessee House of Representatives in answer to Mr. Colyar's speech on this subject. Mr. G. shall furnish nearly all that we have to say, and we would rather use his points than our own, because the fact we desire to establish is not that Mr. Colyar can be answered, but that he has been answered so completely that it was not honest to continue urging his ideas without at least attempting to set aside the refutation that has been already given of them. He quotes, or rather misquotes, a portion of Gov. Porter's message, and infers from it that all the products of this State, of every kind, amount in all to \$52,000,000, and then dividing this sum by the census population of the State he calculates that the average income of the people of Tennessee is \$41 per head. This established to his satisfaction he plaintively asks can a man feed and clothe and educate his family and pay his taxes based on \$41 a year? This is his argument in a nutshell, and all the rest is an amplification of this.

It was hardly worth the while of Mr. Goodpasture to array against such an absurd statement as this the masterly statistical argument with which he refuted it; for what audience of negroes would listen otherwise than with an incredulous laugh if they were to be told that their average income was \$41 a year, which is a trifle over 75 cents a week. Tell that to an average crowd of Clarksville negroes—whether they make their living by sawing wood, or driving drays, or sweeping out offices, or by cooking or washing—tell them that the average income they make is about 75 cents a week; tell it to a boy of twelve years old who lives by doing jobs about a livery stable, and you are convicted by universal consent of an enormous blunder somewhere. They might not be able to follow Mr. Colyar in his arithmetical statements, but Colyar would tell him in a minute: "No, no, boss! you can't get it; dis is de nothin' at 75 cents a week; that's sho'!" So that we are prepared with the certainty that there is an enormous error in Mr. Colyar's statement somewhere, even before we scrutinize it in detail.

The first error pointed out is that Mr. Colyar completely misquotes Gov. Porter, who never limited the whole production of the State to \$52,000,000, but included in that sum only a few of the crops that are sold abroad, such as wheat, tobacco, cotton, etc. Mr. Goodpasture says:

He did not do justice to the Governor by quoting his message correctly. The message gives the productions in 1876 of the principal crops, and in other words, the principal products, and his estimate for 1877 had reference to the same source of production. He is alluding to those crops which are most commonly sent out to the markets of the world, and consequently form the principal source of surplus money. I need not dwell longer on this point. If the gentleman will look to the census reports he will find that in 1870 the total estimated value of all farm productions, including betterments and additions to stock in Tennessee, amounted to \$80,472,847; add to this \$31,362,636, the amount of the products of manufacture for the same year and we have as the total production \$111,835,483.

And even that does not give credit for the large production in the State of mineral wealth, which, as Mr. Goodpasture shows in a subsequent paragraph, have within the last five years increased over 200 per cent; nor the vast quantity of produce produced and consumed on the farms themselves, which, to make Mr. Colyar's argument good, should all be paid for out of the \$41 a year. Adding all these the \$52,000,000 allowed for by Mr. Colyar as the value of Tennessee products may fairly be multiplied by 4 and be stated at \$208,000,000, the population of Tennessee as estimated by Mr. C., gives nearly \$158 as the share per head of Tennessee produce instead of \$41. But, even if we granted his glaringly impossible figures, Mr. C. slips in another quiet fallacy of enormous dimensions. In his eagerness to stamp the brand of poverty as deeply as possible on the brows of Tennessee he talks about a man supporting his family on the \$41 per year he allows him. Observe how he at once multiplies his figures by 5 without saying a word about it. He first makes the produce of Tennessee \$41 a head (not one-fourth of the reality) and then treats the subject as if it were \$41 a family of five. By his own figures even this would give \$205 instead of \$41 for the family to live on, and, by the true statement as we have corrected him, \$740, which even then would be only the

produce of the State, which is much less than its gross value. But much more evidence has been produced by Mr. Goodpasture to refute the pauper and bankrupt theory, which is so injurious a libel upon the thrifty, industrious and productive State of Tennessee. He adopts two methods of testing the assertion. He compares the Tennessee of the present day with Tennessee before the war, and also compares Tennessee with other States, and both comparisons triumphantly refute the pauper and bankrupt theory. Take first a comparison of the

| Value in 1860. | Value in 1870. |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Indian Corn.....\$10,222,577 | \$22,225,531 |
| Wheat.....4,084,431 | 16,071,860 |
| Animals, for slaughter, 12,807,781 | 25,846,080 |
|\$31,778,196 | \$64,254,271 |
|\$17,778,196 | \$17,778,196 |
| Balance in favor of 1870..... | \$16,476,085 |

Thus on three of the most important items of farm produce the value for 1870 was 80 per cent. more than it was before the war. "Oh, but," it will be said, "the staples we sell abroad are what we pay our taxes with, and you have not put them down." Very well then; has the yield of cotton fallen off since the war? Not the number of bales sold by the United States in the last seven years is ahead of the number sold during the last seven years before the war by 2,714,516 bales, of which it may be safely said Tennessee produced her share. How about manufactures? How about coal?

| 1860. | 1870. |
|--|--------------|
| Product of Manufactures.....\$17,887,225 | \$40,262,630 |
|\$17,887,225 | \$17,887,225 |
| Balance in favor of 1870..... | \$16,375,411 |

So that our manufacturers have, since the last year before the war, nearly doubled in value. But the shrinkage in values; that is the point. We can't pay 40 cents on the \$100 because values have fallen so. Let us examine that a little: What has shrunk in value, and what has risen? If we examine into this matter we shall find that those things which have shrunk in price which constitute the expense of production, and those things have risen which constitute the profits of production. What constitutes the cost of production? First, the price of land; it is a hundred per cent. less than it was before the war. Then the articles which, not producing on the land, the farmers have to buy for money—clothing, hats, shoes, farming implements, coffee, medicines, etc. Let any farmer go down Franklin street and price these things as they are now and as they were before the war, and he will find everything far cheaper now than they were then. Ah, but the labor question. That, it is said, costs so much more now. Is that so certain? Before the war we had to furnish our negroes food, lodging and clothing, in addition to sinking a very large capital for their purchase money. We now furnish them the same things without sinking that capital. Moreover, we now pay the exactly what negroes we want and no more, while before the war the planter fed and housed and clothed a large number whom he didn't want and who produced him nothing—the aged, the sick and the children; and then the doctor's bills—we know from our own experience what we are talking about now. Before the war every owner of negroes made it his business to get them the best medical treatment procurable, and the bill for this was a serious item in the plantation expenses, and a mighty good egg for the doctor to hatch. Now the dorkie either gets well without the doctor, or dies for the want of him, or gets his treatment at the doctor's expense—clear gain for the former, but a very bad egg for the doctor.

So much for the expenses of production; now for the profits of production. We return to Mr. Goodpasture and his figures. Here is a short table of comparative prices of farm produce:

| 1860. | 1870. |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| Wheat, per 100 lbs.....\$1.15 | \$1.15 |
| Indian Corn, per bushel..... | .20 |
| Wheat, per bushel..... | .15 |
| Indian Corn, per bushel..... | .10 |

Lastly, cotton for seven years before the war averaged 11-14 cents per pound, and for seven years ending 1877, 17-17 cents. Now the inevitable inference from all this is that farmers are making more and at less cost than they did before the war. We know how hard they find it to believe this, how unwilling they are to believe it, how pleased they are with people who will talk "hard times" with them, but it is pernicious talk; it teaches them to sit idle and moan and pity their own hard case when, by industry and economy, they could be the most independent people in the world. Now, we have been answered when we have talked to men in this way, "You didn't know us before the war. Why, bless your heart, men had lots of money to spend in those days, and they spent it, too." Alas, they did. Their boys loafed about in rags and rode fine horses, and their girls wore fine dresses, and neither boys nor girls dreamt of having any work to do, but the Presidential election was referred to the Supreme Court and party completely captured the judiciary.

We can only indicate in this paper the heads of the method by which some of these steps have to be retraced if the Constitution is to continue to be a practicable method for the government of this nation. Each one of these will, as we have opportunity, be the subject of discussion in future papers. At present they are only enumerated—

First—The President should be elected for six or eight years and taken out of politics.

Second—The Cabinet should be placed in more direct communication with Congress, and be made so far responsible to it that if irreconcilable differences in policy arise between the President and Congress it must retire to make way for one whose views are in harmony with Congress.

Third—That money grants and appropriations must not only originate in the House of Representatives, but the withholding of appropriations for any specific purpose must be followed by the abandonment of that purpose by the Government.

The discussion of these propositions will be introduced as may be rendered possible by the course of public events, according as they leave us space and leisure unoccupied

by nations which have no written constitution, in our sense of the word—England, for instance, and in which nevertheless certain usages and principles are as firmly established as if based upon a stringent enactment. Perhaps even more so, for constitutional provisions, however stringently written, are always liable to be turned aside from their original purpose by the tortuous special pleadings of lawyers, while those great principles which have become established in the convictions and the will of the people are reversible by no pleadings in any court.

Thus in England it is an unwritten but indefensible constitutional provision that the sovereign shall have no party associations, that all his political actions shall be responsible for a Cabinet which is responsible for them, and that this Cabinet shall be changed whenever it is unable to secure a majority in the House of Commons. Unwritten as they are, these provisions have, since the accession of William III., never in a single instance been set aside, and whenever any purpose of attempting to elude them has been manifested, grave alarm and civil convulsion have always resulted; and yet there is no written law in England for the existence of a Cabinet.

Principles established by usage have not obtained as firm a hold in the United States, partly, perhaps, because they have not had so long a time to take root; nevertheless we have some unwritten usages which have been found quite as impregnable as the written constitution, if not more so. Thus the general feeling against a President being elected to serve a third term has very nearly become a part of our unwritten constitution, and the functions of the electors in a Presidential election have been completely changed by an unwritten prescription which has gradually become law. The Electoral College has ceased to be a deliberative body, as was evidently contemplated by the founders of the constitution, and has become simply a body of men instructed to declare that man President who may have been nominated by the party which elected that college.

We have premised thus much for the purpose of throwing light on the cause of the repeated collisions between President, Senate and House which have so frequently impeded public business during the last twelve years, and of making some suggestions for a remedy of the growing evil. We believe that, whereas the main provisions of our Constitution were derived from the practice of the English Government of that day, it was their purpose also to adopt with them some of the prescriptive usages which had in England entered the words of the provisions; that during the thirty days of the Government they adhered to, and that some of the inconveniences experienced in the present day were best corrected by a return to them. One of these was that the President should in no sense be considered the representative of a party. It is certain that Washington did not so consider himself and was not so considered. There is no doubt that he had his political opinions, which were in a moderate degree those of Hamilton, Adams and Chief Justice Marshall.

of the Federal party, in short, of the Cabinet did exercise great influence on the National Legislature but that in no instance did it but that in the first Congress the opinions of the Federal school were predominant. It is equally certain that Gen. Washington abstained from any attempt to exercise direct personal influence on party politics, and if the Republican party had become predominant in Congress while he was President we are decidedly of opinion that he would not have ventured to retain a Federal Cabinet in office. The truth is there was not much party during Washington's first term; the Federalists and Republicans were rather schools of political doctrine than organized parties, nor was it until Jefferson's return from France and Aaron Burr's organization of the opposition party in New York that the Republicans became an organized party and the Federalists were organized in opposition to them.

Adams was beyond a question, a party President elected as a bulwark against the growing power of the Republican party, and Jefferson was as certainly elected for the express purpose of establishing the predominance of the Republicans. There was less of party in the elections of Madison and Monroe, and even Jackson was elected to his first term of office more as a successful soldier than as a party leader. It was during his second term, under the influence of Martin Van Buren and the New York system which he introduced into the national politics, that party gained its complete supremacy over the Executive and both the Legislative Houses, but the work was not completed until the election of Andrew Jackson.

The Russian Government, with all its bravado, is far from desiring another war; Turkey had cost too much to subdue and England was a good deal worse than Turkey. But what was to be done? Admiral Hornby with his iron-clads had taken a position from which it was evident that no retreat was contemplated. Could it be possible that the Russian Chancellor would have to do his worst? In the emergency the Russian Emperor consulted his brother Emperor of Germany, whereupon enters the man with the lightning rod. The Czar agrees not to occupy Constantinople or Gallipoli on condition that the British fleet is withdrawn forty miles from Stamboul, and they shall then remain in statu quo, pending a Congress of the leading nations of Europe, and so it is settled after all that other parties besides the belligerents are concerned both in the terms of the armistice and in those of the ultimate peace, if peace it is to be.

THE NEW POPE.

The deliberations of the Sacred College have terminated in the election of Cardinal Pacci to fill the Papal chair vacated by the death of Pius the Ninth. Cardinal Pacci has been a member of the Sacred College since 1853. It is believed that he would have been elected Cardinal seven years sooner but for the opposition of Antonelli, the Papal Secretary. He is a man of considerable executive ability and a moderate,

THE BONDS NOT COMING HOME.

One of the bugaboos by which the bulls of the gold market tried to scare people from voting for silver money was the Government of the American bonds held in Europe would be returned on our hands as soon as the iniquitous measures should pass. This talk never scared us worth a cent, for if the bonds were sent here it would be in return for commodities produced here and so constitute some revival of our trade which we so sorely need, and if we are to have bonds out with interest to pay on them we would rather they were held here and the interest paid to our own citizens than have to send money abroad to pay foreign bondholders. But, if we are to be guided by the following article in the London Times, they are not coming back after all.

THE LATEST FROM EUROPE.

United States bonds have surprised many people by advancing instead of falling on the news that the silver bill passed, in a manner that will insure its becoming a law in much its present shape. We have always said the public was not selling the stock to any appreciable extent, and the weakness which has now manifested characterized the bonds was due, as much as anything, to the passing fears of dealers and to speculative selling, which only made the market harder. Hence, on the receipt of better New York prices, and because the worst was now known, the market naturally rose by the mere efforts of those who had sold to buy back. Besides it has been noticed that the limitation put upon the quantity of silver which may be coined within a given time is itself tantamount to making silver a subsidiary coinage, at all events consistent with the principle, so there is little alarm felt, and holders stick to their bonds. The only thing that will lower the prices of these or any other high-class stock, just now is dearer money.

While on this subject we may say that the hopes of the anti-silver men now centre in the idea that the House will refuse to concur in the Senate's amendment limiting the amount of coinage; indeed the New York Herald, a strong anti-silver organ, rather puts Gen. Erving on the back like a town rascal trying to get up a dog-fight. It won't do. The House contains some noisy members of the bull terrier type who are ready enough at all times for a row with the Senate, but that dog-fight won't come off. The silver bill will be a law in less than three weeks, and those who want to make it fuller and more complete will wait for further legislation. There will have to be a subsidiary silver bill in any case to wipe up the miserable under-weight fractional coinage which we are now using. Not quite green enough, Mr. Herald.

CELESTIAL TROUBLE.

When we went to press last week a dense thunder-cloud seemed to overshadow the European sky which a moment's atmospheric disturbance might cause to discharge its pent-up forces in a crash of artillery a flashing of cold steel, causing havoc and ruin over half the continent or more. This week the diplomatic scene has been taking the matter in hand, and the war of shot and shell is apparently to be superseded by one of protocols.

Let us look back a little and try to make out how that thunder-cloud was discharged without an explosion. Prince Bismarck seems to have played the part of the lightning-rod man, and it was done as follows: The tendency to war culminated when, to the question of Lord Derby what the advance on Constantinople might mean, Prince Gortchakoff replied that the terms of the armistice under consideration were the concern of the belligerent Governments and of no one else. This sounded very much like what Richardson would call the counter-check quarrelsome. There was a sardonic grin at the back of it which had a peculiarly aggravating effect upon John Bull. To such counter-checks it is John's way either not to reply at all, or to reply by acts rather than words; he sent his ships through the Dardanelles to the Sea of Marmora, where they anchored unconformably near to the Golden Gate. This was a step for which the Russian court had evidently been unprepared. The previous vacillating policy of Lord Derby and the debates in the House of Commons had led them to suppose that in no case would the English Government proceed beyond verbal expostulations. In short, the Emperor Alexander had made precisely the same mistake as his father, Nicholas, did before the Crimean war. He had come to the conclusion that the Gladstone-Bright party of peace at any price had paramount influence with the English people, whereas in the face of such a provocation as Gortchakoff had offered it had none whatever.

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We, the undersigned, cheerfully recommend Messrs. TOWNSEND & THOMAS, as worthy gentlemen, well qualified for the position of Tobacco Inspectors. And the high commercial standing of Messrs. J. P. & G. C. ROBINSON, and their Warehousemen, will afford every facility for the inspection of all Tobacco received by us. We will store all Tobacco on hand as a preventive of shrinkage. For delivering to trucks, lighters or ships, our facilities are excellent, as our docks extend along the entire front of the Stores, which are situated on one side, and across one end, with depth of water sufficient for the largest ships to discharge and receive their cargoes, and are free from all claims for the tobacco stored with us. Our experience as Warehousemen justifies us in saying that all business entrusted to us will be discharged with such care as will guarantee satisfaction.

AGENTS WANTED FOR THE GREAT AWAKENING.

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or, in other words, one opposed to extreme measures in opposition to the Italian Government. Both the Catholic Church and the Italian Government are to be congratulated upon this selection, as the unseasonable variance between Church and State which lasted through the latter days of the late Pope was distressing both to good Catholics and to good subjects of the Italian kingdom. It has not yet transpired what title the new Pope will assume. It has been customary for over a thousand years for the newly elected Pope to assume one out of a few names, such as Pius, Innocent, Leo, Paul, Gregory, etc., which he bears till death. The late Pope's name was Mastai Ferretti, but on his consecration thirty years ago and ever since he has been known as Pius the Ninth.

Since the above was printed we are informed that the new Pope's official name is Leo the Thirteenth.

THE LATEST FROM EUROPE.

The latest telegrams are not quite so pacific in their character as those which dictated our editorial in another column, since it appears that the British fleet will not be withdrawn to Besika Bay and Russia will and probably has one of the faubourgs of Constantinople. Meantime the following is the speech of the man with the lightning rod:

Prince Bismarck said that the recent debates in the British Parliament have nearly exhausted the subject. A judicious regard for her own interest required Russia to obtain the sanction of the powers for the terms of peace. If such consent is unobtainable Russia might be expected to act on the maxim, "Cuius est solum, illius est conditio." Germany was first to consent to a conference, and was indifferent as to where it should be held; but if on German soil it must have German President. Whether, after that principle has been admitted, it will be advisable to adhere to it absolutely will be determined by the ulterior decision, according to the penances who attend the conference. He hoped that peace would be maintained; indeed, could hardly conceive that fresh complications would arise, but should they he would not advise the Emperor to go to war, except in harmony with the Federal Council, the Imperial Parliament, the German nation. Were Germany now to announce her intentions at the conference, she would simply render it impossible to continue the work of mediation. In such case, the programme announced by Germany might be adopted by others, when peace might be imperilled. Accordingly, it would be a serious mistake to avow a programme which might be evaded by some and taken advantage of by others. Germany had no wish to act as arbitrator in the pending conflict. All her ambition was confined to the modest task of a broker who settled a bargain between different parties. Germany was on the most friendly terms with Russia and Austria, and had not a single interest, except friendly rivalry in trade, antagonistic to England. This enables her to mediate, and she does not intend to throw her power into the balance. The Three Emperors' Alliance—which is based not on written engagements, but on personal sympathies—is not strong enough to induce any of the participants to sacrifice important national interests, pour les beaux yeux of another power. Only for German interests and German independence would he advise the Emperor to draw the sword.

RECOVERED. Senator Harris, of Tennessee, who has been quite sick, has resumed his place in the Senate. He has many friends here who will rejoice at this intelligence.

There have been introduced in Congress 3,117 bills and 123 resolutions since the beginning of the present session.

We are indebted to Dr. B. H. Marable for an invitation to attend the thirty-seventh annual commencement exercises of the University of the City of New York, medical department, which took place on the 19th inst., at which time our handsome young friend graduated as an M. D. Hart, we wish you both fame and fortune in your profession.

The farmers report the roads about here as being in a fearfully muddy condition, almost impassable, and this, doubtless, has kept considerable quantities of tobacco from being brought in.

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Ever offered to the trade are those of the past season, owing to the improvements in this extensive industry, and choice selections are to be found at

J. J. CRUSMAN'S, BOOTS, SHOES, HATS,

Consisting in part of

Extra Early Green Peas,

Imperial Brand Peaches,

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Mountain Sugar Corn,

Challenge Brand Raspberries,

Strawberries, Challenge Brand,

Blackberries, Challenge Brand,

White Cherries,

Bartlett Pears,

White Heath Peaches.

A large assortment also of

Canned Meats,

Boneless Pigs Feet,

Corned Beef,

Pickled Oysters,

Lobsters, Etc., Etc.

February 23, 1878-2m

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STEAMER MATT GRACEY

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REGULAR CAIRO & NASHVILLE PACKETS.

Steamer C. W. ANDERSON, J. P. Crook, Master, E. W. Marshall, Clerk, leaves Clarksville for Cairo, every Wednesday at 7 A. M.; leaves Clarksville for Nashville every SUNDAY at 7 P. M.

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ADMINISTRATOR'S NOTICE.

Having qualified as administrator of D. G. Herring, deceased, and being duly sworn, I hereby give notice that the estate of said deceased is open for settlement, and that all claims against said estate must be presented to me within the time prescribed by law, and that those owing to said estate must come forward and make payment. Dated this 21st day of February, 1878. J. L. CORNELL, Administrator of D. G. Herring, dec'd.

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Having qualified as administrator of D. G. Herring, deceased, and being duly sworn, I hereby give notice that the estate of said deceased is open for settlement, and that all claims against said estate must be presented to me within the time prescribed by law, and that those owing to said estate must come forward and make payment. Dated this 21st day of February, 1878. J. L. CORNELL, Administrator of D. G. Herring, dec'd.

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